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Epilogue: Xenophon: Magician and Friend

The editor of this volume, Michael Flower, concluded his Introduction with the hope that it will help to widen Xenophon's readership, because "his ideas still have the power engage us in profound and useful ways." The cumulative effect of the chapters in this book is indeed to show how Xenophon's works, however wonderfully varied, all usefully explore the best ways of acting in the world. This is regardless of whether they consist of skilled reporting of the past or of advice for the present. Everything Xenophon wrote concerns ethical ideas as they are manifested and applied in practical living. The ancient Greeks and Romans did indeed believe that one of the two aims of art of any kind was to be useful to humans living in communities. But the other aim of art, they agreed, was to create pleasure – *hēdonē*. Xenophon merits our attention because he is morally edifying, to be sure. But his works also bestow delight. Who does not cheer at his touching reunion with his faithful horse, which he had been forced to sell when stranded, penniless, in Anatolia? His friends secretly raised the money to buy it back "because they heard he was fond of it" (*Anabasis* 7.8.2–3; see 8.8.6).

Bowie's chapter drew our attention to the praise lavished on Xenophon by Dio Chrysostom when drawing up a list of recommended reading for trainee orators. Dio certainly saw Xenophon's utility: he "is of all the ancient writers the most useful for the public man." But his writing partly convinces us, explains Dio, because it is "attractive and pleasurable" (*prosēnes kai kecharismenon*). The impact is not just that of wonderful wordplay, but actually of *magic* (*goēteia*, 18.14). Xenophon is a verbal magician: his works are spellbinding. Dio's paean illuminates the effect of Xenophon's wizardry by the addition of arresting details: the orator has a visceral emotional response to the *Anabasis*, actually feeling aroused by the hortatory speeches, and moved to tears by the deeds of valor (18.15–16). Writing at a distance of more than four centuries, Dio responds to Xenophon as if he were physically on the march upcountry alongside him. But, perhaps most importantly, Xenophon works as a *writer* because Xenophon was an *actor*

in the events he narrates. His speeches are so effective because "he combines deeds with words, because he did not learn by hearsay nor by copying, but by doing deeds himself as well as telling of them" (18.18).

Abraham Lincoln once responded to the suggestion that powerful men didn't need to read books by saying "books serve to show a man that those original thoughts of his aren't very new, after all."[1] Part of Xenophon's magic, whether he is talking about morale in armies or kindness to animals, is that he makes us feel that there is little new under the sun. And the constituents of Xenophontic sorcery that Dio identified as making him the perfect model for the public speaker are precisely the same as those that make him the perfect reading for anyone discovering the ancient Greeks today: his accessibility, capacity to make his readers time-travel – feel that they are emotionally present and participating in the emotions of the events described – and his ability to come over as an appealing "real" person, a man of action, whom his audience regards as a friend. In this brief, closing chapter, I hope to entice any reader not yet convinced by the foregoing chapters to acquire a translation at least of the *Anabasis* forthwith,[2] and set out with Xenophon on his extraordinary adventure.

We are told that Alexander the Great's project of conquering Asia was inspired by reading the *Anabasis* (Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* 1.453), and countless other soldiers, adventurers, and colonialists have followed suit.[3] A vivid illustration of this text's appeal to the imagination occurs in H. G. Wells's semi-autobiographical *Tono-Bungay* (1909), in which the narrator, George, reminisces about life at English boarding school. His favorite reading there was "penny dreadfuls" with "ripping stuff, stuff that anticipated Haggard and Stevenson."[4] But the best game the boys played had been invented by George himself:

> We found a wood where 'Trespassing' was forbidden, and did the 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand' through it from end to end, cutting our way bravely through a host of nettle beds that barred our path, and not forgetting to weep and kneel when at last we emerged within sight of the High Road Sea. So we have burst at times, weeping and rejoicing, upon startled wayfarers. Usually I took the part of that distinguished general Xenophon and please note the quantity of the o … Well, – if I met those great gentlemen of the past with their accents carelessly adjusted I did at least meet them alive, as an equal and in a living tongue.[5]

[1] See Gallaher 1898: 54.
[2] There are many translations available, of which Warner 1972, much reprinted, and Waterfield 2005: both come highly recommended.
[3] See especially Rood 2004c and 2010a.
[4] Wells 2005 [1909]: 29.
[5] Wells 2005 [1909]: 31.

The implicit comparison of the *Anabasis* with the adventure fiction of Robert Louis Stevenson and the imperial-lands fantasies of H. Rider Haggard, the subversive trespassing, the walls of nettles, the emotional intensity, the jibe at pedantic schoolmasters – all these signal the psychological appeal of a group adventure in a faraway land; the imagination can enhance history there, and we can all be heroes for an hour. It is hardly surprising that individuals who have in childhood read Xenophon's foundational example of this story type often lend it almost metaphysical reverberations later.

In April 1941, while Yugoslavia and Greece were surrendering to Germany, the poet and classicist Louis MacNeice produced a rousing, straightforward adaptation of the *Anabasis* for BBC Radio's Overseas Service.[6] He thus demonstrated the endless susceptibility of ancient literature to adaptation in modern media and to modern purposes. But the story haunted him. In a prescient poem written two decades later, not long before his premature death in 1963, MacNeice associates memories of his youth, and an intimation of mortality, with the first glimpse of the Black Sea by Xenophon's exhausted comrades:

> Round the corner was always the sea. Our childhood
> Tipping the sand from its shoes on return from holiday
> Knew there was more where it came from, as there was more
> Seaweed to pop and horizon to blink at. Later
> Our calf loves yearned for union in solitude somewhere
> Round that corner where Xenophon crusted with parasangs
> Knew he was home …[7]

We are all travelling on the journey of a lifetime where the sea – whether it means infinity, sexual union, or home – is always just "round the corner." In that memorable phrase, "encrusted with parasangs," MacNeice evokes the magical thrill of the reader of Xenophon's first encounter with the exotica of the Persian Empire, the resonant Old Iranian nouns "encrusting" the surface of his lucid prose.

Dio praises Xenophon because what he says is clear and can be understood by anybody. His sheer accessibility is still a key component of his capacity to enchant. His use in elementary stages of training in the ancient Greek language – by smaller boys even than those who are given Herodotus – has contributed historically to his appeal to women. Although until as late as the twentieth century females were kept well away from the "manly" Thucydides on account of his perceived intellectual rigor and austerity,[8] they will have

[6] Under the title *The March of the 10,000*. See Wrigley and Harrison 2013: 31–42.
[7] MacNeice 1963: 13.
[8] Hall forthcoming a.

encountered Xenophon in their role as mothers and sisters of quite young boys. Sarah Fielding, sister of Henry and herself an established novelist, in 1762 published a fine translation, entitled Xenophon's *Memorabilia and Apology of Socrates*. (This was several times reprinted; her version of the *Apology* was still being reused as late as the *Socratic Discourses* edited by A. D. Lindsay for the Everyman series, first published in 1904 but reprinted until 1937.[9]) And three decades after Fielding's Xenophon translation, Lady Sophia Burrell published a blank-verse epic on just one embedded tale in the *Cyropaedia*.[10]

Sarah Fielding is anxious in her translation to demonstrate that any reader could enjoy the pagan Xenophon without compromising her Christian beliefs. Xenophon did believe in a providential divine (at *Hellenica* 5.4.1. he notoriously asserts that "the gods neglect neither impious persons nor those who do wicked deeds"),[11] and this colored his interpretation of history in a way compatible with Christianity of most denominations. When his works were first printed during the Renaissance, ancient pagan Greeks were routinely identified as the cultural and spiritual ancestors of the Christian west, while the Asiatic, eastern barbarians, as described by historians such as Herodotus and Xenophon, were systematically – and anachronistically – conflated with Muslims, especially Turks.[12] During the decades leading up to the Greek War of Independence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was therefore inevitable that the *Anabasis* informed the many "escape-from-the Seraglio" poems, plays, and operas so voguish at that time.[13] Wiffen's "The Captive of Stamboul" (1820), for example, laments the Ottoman occupation of the land

> o'er which Minerva's Xenophon,
> from red Cunaxa called his heroes on;
> the baffled Persian barred his way in vain,
> and idly round him shook his empty chain;
> in all, through all, he mocked th' insidious foe,
> the Median sling and the barbaric bow;
> chill, faint with famine, bleeding, wasted, wet,
> firm, though betrayed, and conquering, though beset.[14]

Christians have approvingly perceived Xenophon's religious outlook as a simple, sensible, ethical piety – a characterization best expressed in Landor's

[9] See Hall 2016.
[10] Burrell 1794.
[11] Dillery 1995: 193.
[12] Hall 2007a and Hall 2013: ch. 8.
[13] Hall 2013: chs. 9–10.
[14] Wiffen 1820: 142.

two imaginary conversations between Xenophon and Cyrus the Younger and Xenophon and Alcibiades.[15] To the latter, Xenophon describes his world-view: "Hesitation and awe become us in the presence of the gods; resolution and courage in presence of mortal men."[16] His Socratic works were even used as models for explicitly Christian devotional works in dialogue form.

When it comes to social class, however, the politics of Xenophon's reception are more complicated. He indeed has a centuries-old association with the elite curriculum, as the first ancient Greek prose author usually encountered by privileged boys. In English-speaking countries, this became inevitable after Xenophon was prescribed in Dr Johnson's "Scheme for the Classes of a Grammar School" as the supreme exemplar of Attic prose.[17] Tony Harrison, a working-class boy born in 1937 who won a place at Leeds Grammar School, remembers reading Xenophon there:

> Tugging my forelock fathoming Xenophon
> grimed Greek exams with grease and lost me marks,
> so I whisper when the barber asks Owt on?
> No, thank you! YES! Dad's voice behind me barks.[18]

While taking any classically educated reader straight back to those childhood moments construing sentences in Xenophon, the image of that ancient author's text becoming smeared with proletarian hair pomade also represents the sense of class difference beginning to dawn on Harrison's youthful self.

Yet Xenophon, for all his emblematic curricular power, has (like Herodotus) penetrated deeper into popular culture than, for example, either Thucydides or Polybius. This is partly because he was translated into Latin at a very early date in the Renaissance, guaranteeing wide circulation,[19] and illustrated versions of the *Anabasis* have been produced for children with no knowledge of ancient languages.[20] But he is also one of the few ancient authors who – in modern-language translations – have routinely been found on the shelves of workers' libraries, since the very first in Europe were founded in Scotland in the 1750s.[21] Moreover, for all Xenophon's own

[15] Landor 1891: 121–39.
[16] Landor 1891: 133.
[17] Boswell 2008 [1791]: 59.
[18] Harrison 1984: 140.
[19] Botley 2004: 9–10.
[20] Havell 1910.
[21] The first workers' libraries opened in the 1750s at Leadhills and Wanlockhead. They were brought to a fine art in the libraries of the South Wales miners in the later nineteenth century. The catalogues show that Xenophon, Caesar, and Augustine, usually in translation, were three of the classical authors most often available, along with the Stoics whose writing might be classed as spiritual autobiography, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. See Hall and Stead forthcoming.

aristocratic birth, and questionable attitude to democracy, he has enjoyed a high reputation amongst democrats and levelers. The Dorset poet William Barnes composed a mid-Victorian socialist poem, "Fellowship," about the local peasants' intuitive contentment with poverty. They believed, said Barnes, that the poor, because they are less isolated and can rely on each other's solidarity, have more fun than the rich, who "must live in lonesome states / With none for mates in fellowship." Barnes's note to this poem explains that "Xenophon, in his *Hiero*, chap. vii, makes the king say to Simonides: – 'I wish to show you those pleasures which I enjoyed while I was a common man; and now, since I have been a king, I feel I have lost. I was then among my fellows, and happy with them as they were happy with me.' "[22]

When the "common man" and common woman wanted to enjoy themselves, they could access stories from Xenophon in entertaining theatrical and musical forms. Xenophon's literary versatility has led to several individual episodes acquiring such status that they have produced a whole series of responses and a reception history of their own. The story of "The Choice of Heracles" was often extracted from its context, and retold, even sung and danced, on early modern and Enlightenment stages, culminating in Handel's 1751 oratorio.[23] The *Cyropaedia* is the ultimate source of the romance-unto-death of Panthea and Habrodates, often adapted for the stage, for example in John Bankes's 1696 *Cyrus the Great, or the Tragedy of Love* at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Greekless readers could read the same story in James Hurdis's epyllion *Panthea* (1790).[24]

But the extent of Xenophon's influence is not only a result of the pleasure with which new works responding to his could provide. A specific form of the *usefulness* identified by Dio has been instrumental, too. The sheer number of topics Xenophon covered means that he turns up in an astonishing variety of factual publications encompassing wider fields than any other ancient Greek thinker except Aristotle. Socrates' confession in his *Symposium* that he takes dancing lessons, as well as the sexy pantomimic performance at the end of the party (9.2–7), have dominated discussions of the morality of dancing since the earliest Puritan debates on the topic.[25] Xenophon's *Ways and Means* was central to early treatises on mining technology, especially Georgius Agricola's seminal *de Re metallica* (1556),[26] and on economics.[27] His historical works permeate eighteenth-century invective

[22] Barnes 1868: 170 and 171.
[23] See also, e.g., Whyte 1772.
[24] Hurdis 1790: 69–227.
[25] E.g., Gosson 1582: 86–7. See Hall 2010.
[26] See the translation of Hoover and Hoover 1950: 6, 26, 28.
[27] Davenant 1698, on whom see further Hall and Macintosh 2005: 36–40.

against the use of mercenaries in British imperial territories,[28] and his *On Household Management* crops up in numerous contexts, including (along with the *Cyropaedia*) discussions of gardening.[29] When Georgian showmen advertised their exotic fauna to the London public, they were sure to mention Xenophon when describing their fabulous ostriches.[30]

Along with accessibility, Dio specifies Xenophon's virtue of making the reader feel the emotions of the moment he is describing. It is this quality which has led two scenes in particular to appeal to painters. The first is his idyllic description of the sanctuary he built for Artemis at his new home in Skillos near Olympia, where he settled with his wife and children some time after his adventures abroad. He would hold annual festivals there, with sumptuous banquets and hunting expeditions (*Anabasis* 5.3.7–10). This passage became a favorite of Italian Renaissance noblemen as offering an exemplary image of bountiful leadership; painters strove to capture the happiness of the moment. *Sacrificio di Senofonte a Diana* in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, attributed to Pietro da Cortona, shows a bearded Xenophon standing in front of his temple and organizing the other men as they bring back their spoils from the hunt; to the right is his wife, with their little sons, one of whom is playing with a sheep. This painting was much imitated.[31] The other intensely paintable episode is of course the first sighting of the Black Sea, famously captured by Benjamin Haydon in a canvas first exhibited at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly in 1832, allowing late Georgian viewers to fancy themselves transported in time back to the turn of the fourth century BC.[32]

But there is another sense in which Xenophon has, more than any other ancient historian, encouraged "time travel," and that is in his close relationship with fiction. His traces linger not only in the North American novel of the frontier (his influence on J. Fenimore Cooper is palpable[33]) but also in science fiction and fantasy writing. The importance of the *Anabasis* in this

[28] See e.g. Callender 1795: ch. 2.

[29] Addison 1794: 271.

[30] "The most astonishing and largest OSTRICH ever seen in Europe" is advertised as on display at the Pastry-Cook Mr. Patterson's, 37 Haymarket. The playbill (John Johnson Collection of Handbills *Animals on Show* I (7) in the Bodleian Library) informs the reader that "Dr. YOUNG observes from Xenophon, that Cyrus had horses which overtake the goat and wild ass, but none could reach this creature." See *Anabasis* 1.5.3.

[31] On the cultural context in which the painting was created, see Rood 2013a. There is a copy, for example, at the National Trust property The Vyne in Sherborne St. John, Basingstoke, viewable online at http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/xenophons-sacrifice-to-diana-220133.

[32] Anon. 1832.

[33] There are references to the *Anabasis* in several of his novels. See, e.g., Cooper 1840: 263.

category of novel was forever guaranteed when the much reprinted 1877 English-language version of Jules Verne's *Journey to the Center of the Earth* inserted a resounding reference to the Cyreans' first glimpse of the sea. This is how Axel recalls his arrival, with Uncle Liedenbrock, at the "new *mare internum*":

> A vast sheet of water, the commencement of a lake or an ocean, spread far away beyond the range of the eye, reminding me forcibly of that open sea which drew from Xenophon's ten thousand Greeks, after their long retreat, the simultaneous cry, "Thalatta! thalatta!" the sea! the sea! The deeply indented shore was lined with a breadth of fine shining sand, softly lapped by the waves, and strewn with the small shells which had been inhabited by the first of created beings.[34]

There have been many futuristic stories based on the *Anabasis* subsequently, of which one, *Star Guard* (1955) by Alice Mary Norton, writing under the male pseudonym Andre Norton, is foundational in the genre. Its political landscape, despite the setting in the fourth millennium AD, is clearly that of the USA at the dawn of the civil rights movement; the soldier-hero Kana Karr is a mixed-race human, and the "evil empire" he opposes with his fellow mercenaries is an intergalactic Central Control which refuses to allow earth-dwellers equal citizenship rights.[35]

Earlier we quoted Abraham Lincoln. The words of another US president, Woodrow Wilson, sum up how many of Xenophon's admirers feel about him: "I would never read a book if it were possible for me to talk half an hour with the man who wrote it."[36] Xenophon was on close terms with Socrates, and witness to several momentous historical events. The diplomat Sir Thomas Elyot, one of his earliest English admirers, described him as "bothe a philosopher and an excellent capitayne."[37] A Victorian enthusiast put it another way: we can learn about Socrates from Plato, but also from "the scarr'd hand of gallant Xenophon."[38] Yet our gallant captain leaves so many frustrating silences about his life that in his resurrected presence it would difficult to decide which questions to ask (besides the obvious

[34] Anon. 1872, opening of ch. 30. The previous chapter is simply entitled "Thalatta! Thalatta!" The author of this famous translation, with illustrations by Édouard Riou, which is far more melodramatic than Verne's 1864 original French edition, remains unidentified.

[35] One other such novel likely to have staying power is Paul Kearney's well-written *The Ten Thousand* (2008).

[36] Whittlesey 1934.

[37] Elyot 1531: 39.

[38] "Socrates" in Tupper 1860: 62.

one articulated by Flower in the introductory essay: why did he *write* so much, and on such diverse topics?). One thing is certain, however. We may be bewildered by the mysteries surrounding his adventures abroad and his experiences in Greece, including his family life and his compromised relationships with both the Athenians and the Spartans. But that bewilderment paradoxically coexists with a sense that we know the man better than any ancient Greek author before him, and better than most who came afterwards. In this respect, reading Xenophon often feels similar to reading Montaigne or Walter Raleigh,[39] and with that sense of familiarity there comes affection.

There have been several skillful examinations in this volume of the problematic nature of the authorial presence, whether in the first or third person, in all Xenophon's works. I leave aside the question of whether Leo Strauss was correct in hearing Xenophon as satirical (with which I do not personally concur). But Flower is correct in insisting that, for the scholar, "Xenophon" – whether as "I" or "he," as narrator, subject, historian, panegyrist, or teacher of practical arts – always "requires careful analysis."[40] Our feelings of intimacy with Xenophon are not exactly artificial but they are deceptive. They exist partly, to be sure, because (as Dio insisted) Xenophon was not just a writer – he had participated in the events and situations he describes. Yet, despite all the important information that he omits, it is his habit of sporadically offering insights into his own feelings that makes him seem intensely real. The notion of psychological "identification" with characters in art has, since Freud, become one of the most fraught in literary theory. But there is no denying that Xenophon extends noisy invitations to his reader to identify with him by sharing his aesthetic perceptions and inward thoughts.

From many examples, I choose just one, the banquet held by the fearsome Thracian king Seuthes II (*Anabasis* 7.3.26–33). Xenophon is a guest of honor and challenged to present a gift to the king. But he has come empty-handed, and, we are told, "had already been drinking a little." Nervously, we read on to see how he solves his problem. He takes the drinking horn and delivers an impromptu speech declaring his comrades to be the best gift Seuthes could desire. Then the barbarian monarch drinks with Xenophon, scatters the last wine drops with him, and – dangerous moment passed – the party continues uproariously. There is an orchestra of trumpets, Seuthes

[39] Xenophon was of course a favorite of Montaigne (see Green 2012: 193); he is compared with Raleigh by, e.g., Campbell 1756: letter 7.

[40] See above, p. 000.

practices his war cry, and a troupe of comedians performs. This episode would be exciting enough in itself – it is a vivid and unparalleled glimpse into the court life of the eastern Balkan barbarians – but seeing it through Xenophon's slightly tipsy eyes invites us to sympathize with his predicament and feel intense relief when he finds a way out.

Flower notes that the only time that Xenophon seems to have dropped seriously out of fashion since the Renaissance was in the middle of the twentieth century. One reason for this is certainly that the revulsion against militarism and the accelerated decolonization that followed World War II threw a shadow over some aspects of ancient Greek imperial and colonial history that had previously been celebrated. It is revealing that the role that the *Anabasis* has recently played on BBC Radio has been anything but warmongering: in Colin Teevan's *How Many Miles to Basra?* (2006), Xenophon's retreat functions as an antecedent of the plight of traumatized British soldiers stranded during an unpopular war in Iraq.[41] But the other reason why Xenophon lost favor is surely that it was in the aftermath of World War II that the very concept of "the author" came under attack in the Academy.

The first challenge to the importance of the writer as an individual in literary history came in a 1946 article by two American practitioners of the New Criticism, who stressed that literature is the possession of its readership.[42] The emphasis on the consumers of the text and of its role in cultural discourse, rather than on its creator, was developed theoretically by French poststructuralists, above all Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida.[43] The "death of the author" was announced. It became profoundly unfashionable, even in Classics, where literary theory was initially viewed with suspicion, to talk about *any* author's "intentions," let alone his or her "reality" or "lived experience." It is only recently that the author has been reinstated, albeit as just one amongst several agents and factors that can usefully be taken into account in textual analysis.[44] This comes as a welcome development to those of us who have always shared the feeling of H. G. Wells's George, that we have met Xenophon "alive, as an equal and in a living tongue."

[41] The radio play was subsequently developed into a full stage play and published as Teevan 2006. The proximity of Cynaxa to Fallujah, scene of a terrible battle in December 2004, prompted the drawing of parallels between the events of the Iraq War and those described in the *Anabasis*.

[42] Wimsatt and Beardsley 1946.

[43] For full bibliography and discussion see Burke 1998.

[44] See, e.g., Grethlein 2012.

Important Dates in the Life of Xenophon

All dates are BC	
431	Outbreak of Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta
430–425	Birth of Xenophon
413	Athenian expedition to Sicily destroyed; Spartans occupy Athenian countryside
411–410	Athenian democracy overthrown; oligarchic rule at Athens
410	Democracy restored at Athens
406	Battle of Arginusae and trial of the Athenian generals
405	Spartans destroy Athenian fleet at Aegospotami and blockade Athens
Sept. 405–April 404	Death of Darius II of Persia; accession of Artaxerxes II
404	Athens surrenders to Sparta
Summer 404–Spring 403	Rule of the Thirty at Athens (8 months). Xenophon serves in the cavalry under the Thirty (?)
403	Democracy restored at Athens
401	Xenophon joins the expedition of Cyrus the Younger; battle of Cunaxa near Babylon and death of Cyrus
401–399	Xenophon becomes a general and helps lead Cyrus' mercenaries (the Ten Thousand) back from Mesopotamia to Asia Minor
400	Agesilaus becomes one of Sparta's two kings
399	Trial and execution of Socrates
399–395	Xenophon and the remnants of the Ten Thousand serve various Spartan commanders in Asia Minor
396–395	Xenophon campaigns with King Agesilaus in Asia Minor
395	Outbreak of Corinthian War; Athens, Corinth, and Thebes ally against Sparta
Spring 394	Xenophon returns to Greece with Agesilaus
August 394	Xenophon present at the battle of Coronea in Boeotia; decree of exile passed against Xenophon at Athens (now or earlier)
ca. 390	Spartans grant Xenophon an estate at Scillus
386	The King's Peace; Sparta secures hegemony in Greece

(*Cont.*)

All dates are BC	
382	Sparta seizes the Acropolis of Thebes
Winter 379/8	Liberation of Thebes from Spartan contol
378	Second Athenian League formed
376	Athenians defeat a Spartan fleet off Naxos
371	Thebans defeat a Spartan army at Leuctra; Xenophon is expelled from Scillus and moves to Corinth
370–369	Thebans invade the Peloponnesus and liberate Messenia from Sparta
362	Battle of Mantineia; Xenophon's son Gryllus killed in a cavalry skirmish; Athenians pardon Xenophon (now or earlier)
360	Death of King Agesilaus
359/8	Death of Artaxerxes II
ca. 350	Death of Xenophon